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THE ADDRESS

OF THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN
LIBERTY CONVENTION,

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES;

THE

PROCEEDINGS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONVENTION;

THE LETTERS OF

LIHU BURRITT, WM. H. SEWARD, WILLIAM JAY,
CASSIUS M. CLAY, WILLIAM GOODELL,
THOMAS EARLE AND OTHERS.

CINCINNATI :

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1845.

testation of "the Supreme Judge of the world" to the rectitude of their purposes.

After a protracted and dubious struggle the independence of the American Republic was at length achieved, and the attention of Congress was turned to the establishment and extension of free institutions. Beyond the Alleghany Mountains, then the western limit of civilization, stretched a vast Territory, untrodden except by the savage, but destined in the hope and faith of the patriots of the Revolution to be the seat of mighty states. To this territory, during the war just terminated, various States had set up conflicting claims: while the Congress had urged upon all the cession of their several pretensions for the common good. The recommendations of Congress prevailed. Among the States which signalized their patriotism by the cession of claims to Western Territory, Virginia was pre-eminently distinguished, both by the magnitude of her grant and the spirit in which it was made. The claim of Virginia comprehended almost all that is now Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. She yielded it all, almost with no other condition than that the territory should be disposed of for the common benefit and finally erected into Republican States. The absence of all stipulations in behalf of slavery in these cessions, and especially in that of Virginia, furnishes strong evidence of the prevalence of anti-slavery sentiment at that day. But the action of Congress in relation to the Territory thus acquired, supplies decisive proof.

It was in 1787, that Congress promulgated the celebrated Ordinance for the Government of the Territory, northwest of the River Ohio. In this ordinance for the purpose of "extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty; * * to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments, which forever thereafter should be formed in said Territory," Congress established "certain articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the territory to remain forever unalterable, unless by common consent." One of these articles of compact declared that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes;" providing, however, that the right of retaking fugitives from service should be preserved to the citizens of the *original* States. This ordinance was adopted by the unanimous vote of all the States, there being but a single individual negative, which was given by a member from New-York. Upon the question of excluding slavery we may fairly assume that there was entire unanimity.

It seems to us impossible to conceive of a more significant indication of National Policy. The Congress was about to fix forever the relation of five future States to the question of slavery. Under the influence of the liberal opinions of 1776, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont and Pennsylvania, had already abolished or had taken measures for abolishing slavery within their limits. It was expected that other Atlantic States would follow their example. The creation of five non-slaveholding States in the West would evidently secure a permanent majority on the side of Freedom against Slavery. There was, at that time, no other National Territory out of which slaveholding States

could be carved: nor was there any thought of acquiring territory with such an object. And yet the votes of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia were given and unanimously given for the positive exclusion of slavery from all the vast region now possessed by Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and for the virtual restriction of the right of reclaiming fugitive servants to cases of escape from the original States. There was very little compromise here. There was clear, unqualified decisive action in the fulfilment and in renewal of the solemn pledge given in 1774, reiterated in 1776, and in pursuance of the settled national policy of restricting slavery to the original States, and of excluding it from all national territory and from all new States.

It is to be borne in mind that neither in this ordinance, nor in the national acts which preceded it, did the Congress undertake to legislate upon the actual personal relations of the inhabitants of the original States. They sought to impress upon the national character and the national policy the stamp of Liberty; but they did not, so far as we can see, attempt to interfere with the internal arrangements of any State, however inconsistent those arrangements might be with that character and policy. They expected, however, and they had reason to expect, that slavery would be excluded from all places of national jurisdiction, and that whatever in the arrangements of particular States savored of despotism and oppression, and especially that the system of slavery, which concentrates in itself the whole essence and all the attributes of despotism and oppression, would give way before the steady action of the national faith and the national policy.

Such was the state of opinion, when the Convention for framing the Constitution of the United States assembled. The ordinance of 1787, which was the most significant and decisive expression of this opinion, was promulgated while the Constitution-Convention was in session. The Constitution, therefore, is to be examined with reference to the public acts which preceded it, and the prevalent popular sentiment.

And the first thing which arrests the attention of the enquirer, is the remarkable preamble which is prefixed to the operating clauses of the instrument, in which the objects to be attained by it are particularly enumerated.—These are "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." It would be singular, indeed, if a Constitution adopted for such objects, and under such circumstances, should be found to contain guaranties of slavery. We should expect, on the contrary, that, although the national government created by it might not be directly authorized to act upon the slavery already existing in the States, all power to create or continue the system by national sanction, would be carefully withheld, and some safeguards would be provided against its further extension. And such, in our judgment, was the true effect of the Constitution. We are not prepared to deny, on the one hand, that several clauses of the instrument were intended to refer to slaves; nor to admit, on the other, all the consequences which the friends of slavery would deduce from

these clauses. We abstain from these questions. It is enough for our purpose, that it seems clear, that neither the framers of the Constitution, nor the people who adopted it, intended to violate the pledges given in the covenant of 1774, in the declaration of 1776, in the ordinance of 1787; that they did not purpose to confer on Congress or the General Government any power to establish or continue or sanction slavery any where; that, if they did not intend to authorize direct national legislation for the removal of the slavery existing in particular States, under their local laws, they did intend to keep the action of the national government free from all connection with the system; to discourage and discourage it in the States; and to favor the abolition of it by State authority, a result, then, generally expected; and finally to provide against its further extension by confining the power to acquire new territory, and admit new States to the General Government, the line of whose policy was clearly marked out by the ordinance and preceding public acts.

We cannot think that any unprejudiced student of the Constitution, examining it in the light of precedent action, and contemporary opinion, can arrive at any other conclusion than this. No amendment of the constitution would be needed to adapt it to the new condition of things, were every State in the Union to abolish slavery forthwith. There is not a line of the instrument which refers to slavery as a national institution, to be upheld by national law. On the contrary every clause which ever has been or can be construed as referring to slavery, treats it as the creature of State law, and dependent wholly upon State law for its existence and continuance. So careful were the framers of the Constitution to negative all implied sanction of slaveholding, that not only were the terms "slave," "slavery," and "slaveholding," excluded, but even the word "servitude," which was at first inserted to express the condition, under the local law, of the persons who were to be delivered up, should they escape from one State into another, was, on motion of Mr. Randolph of Virginia, stricken out, and "service" unanimously inserted, "the former being thought to express the condition of slaves, and the latter the obligations of free persons."

That such was the general understanding of the people will be the more manifest if we extend our examination beyond the Constitution as originally adopted, to the amendments subsequently incorporated into it. One of these amendments, as originally proposed by Virginia, provided that "no freeman should be deprived of life, liberty or property but by the law of the land," and was copied, substantially, from the English Magna Carta. Congress altered the phraseology by inserting in lieu of the words quoted, "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;" and, thus altered, the proposed amendment became part of the Constitution. We are aware that it has been held by distinguished authority, that the section of the amended Constitution, which contains this provision, operates as a limitation only on national and not upon state legislation. Without controverting this opinion, here, it is enough to say that, at the least, the clause prohibits the General Government from sanctioning slave-

holding, and renders the continuance of slavery as a legal relation in any place of exclusive national jurisdiction impossible.

For, what is slavery? It is the complete and absolute subjection of one person to the control and disposal of another person, by legalized force. We need not argue that no person can be, *rightfully*, compelled to submit to such control and disposal. All such subjection must originate in force; and, private force not being strong enough to accomplish the purpose, public force in the form of law must lend its aid. The Government comes to the help of the individual slaveholder, and punishes resistance to his will and compels submission.—THE GOVERNMENT, therefore, in the case of every individual slave is THE REAL ENSLAYER, depriving each person enslaved of all liberty and all property, and all that makes life dear, without imputation of crime or any legal process whatsoever. This is precisely what the Government of the United States is forbidden to do by the Constitution. The Government of the United States, therefore, cannot create or continue the relation of master and slave. Nor can that relation be created or continued in any place, district or territory over which the jurisdiction of the National Government is exclusive; for slavery cannot subsist a moment after the support of the public force has been withdrawn.

We need not go further to prove that slaveholding in the States can have no rightful sanction or support from national authority, but must depend wholly upon the State law for existence and continuance.

We have thus proved, from the Public Acts of the Nation, that, up to the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the people of the United States were an anti-slavery people; that the sanction of the national approbation was never given, and never intended to be given, to slaveholding; that, on the contrary, the Government of the United States was expressly forbidden to deprive any person of liberty, without due legal process; and that the policy of excluding slavery from all national territory, and restricting it within the limits of the original States, was early adopted and practically applied.

Permit us now, fellow citizens, to call your attention to the recorded opinions of the Patriots and Sages of the Revolutionary Era; from which you will learn that many of them, so far from desiring that the General Government should sanction slavery or extend its limits, were displeased that it was not, in terms, empowered to take action for its final extinction in the States, and, that almost all looked forward to its final removal by State authority with expectation and hope.

The Preamble of the Abolition Act of Pennsylvania of 1780, exhibits clearly the state of many minds. "Weaned," says the General Assembly, "by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations; and we conceive ourselves, at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon by the blessing we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our professions and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude."

The sentiments of Mr. Jefferson are too well known to justify large quotations from his writings. We invite, however, your attention to

two sentences; and will observe, in passing, that his opinions were shared by almost every Virginian of distinguished patriotism or ability.

In his Notes on Virginia, he said:—"I think a change already perceptible since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave is rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way, I hope, preparing under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation; and that is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation."

On another occasion he said, "Nobody wishes more ardently than I to see an abolition not only of the trade, but of the condition of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object."

In a letter to John F. Mercer, George Washington said, "I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

In a letter to Sir John Sinclair, assigning reasons for the depreciation of Southern lands, he said, "There are in Pennsylvania laws for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither Virginia nor Maryland have at present, but which nothing is more certain than that they must have, and at a period not remote."

General Lee of Virginia, in his "Memoirs of the Revolutionary War," remarked, "The Constitution of the United States, adopted lately with so much difficulty, has effectually provided against this evil, (the slave trade,) after a few years. It is much to be lamented, that having done so much in this way, a provision had not been made for the gradual abolition of slavery."

Judge Tucker of Virginia, in a letter to the General Assembly of that State in 1796, recommending the abolition of slavery, and speaking of the slaves in Virginia, said, "Should we not at the time of the Revolution have loosed their chains and broken their fetters; or, if the difficulties and dangers of such an experiment prohibited the attempt during the convulsions of a revolution, is it not our duty to embrace the first moment of constitutional health and vigor to effectuate so desirable an object and to remove from us a stigma with which our enemies will never fail to upbraid us, nor our consciences to reproach us?"

Luther Martin, of Maryland, left the Convention before the Constitution was finally completed. He opposed its adoption, and assigned, in his report to the Maryland Legislature, as a leading reason for his opposition, the absence from the instrument of express provisions against slavery. He said that it was urged in the Convention, "that by the proposed system we were giving the General Government full and absolute power to regulate Commerce, under which general power it would have a right to restrain or totally prohibit the slave trade; it must therefore appear to the world absurd and disgraceful to the last degree that we should except from the exercise of that power, the only branch of commerce which is unjustifiable in its nature and contrary to the rights of mankind:—that, on the contrary, we ought rather to prohibit expressly in our Constitution the fur-

ther importation of slaves, and to authorise the General Government, from time to time, to make such regulations as should be thought most advantageous for the gradual abolition of slavery, and the emancipation of the slaves which are already in the States."

James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, signed the Constitution, taking a very different view of its provisions bearing upon slavery from that of Mr. Martin, but agreeing with him entirely as to slavery itself. In the Ratification Convention of Pennsylvania, speaking of the clause relating to the power of Congress over the slave-trade after twenty years, he said: "I consider this clause as laying the foundation for banishing slavery out of this country. It will produce the same kind of gradual change which was produced in Pennsylvania: the NEW STATES, which are to be formed will be under the control of Congress in this particular, and SLAVERY WILL NEVER BE INTRODUCED AMONG THEM. It presents us with the pleasing prospect that the rights of mankind will be acknowledged and established throughout the Union."

In the Ratification Convention of Massachusetts, Gen. Heath declared that "Slavery was CONFINED TO THE STATES NOW EXISTING: it could not be extended. By their ordinance Congress had declared that the NEW STATES should be republican, and have no slavery."

In the Ratification Convention of North Carolina, Mr. Iredell, afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, observed, "When the entire abolition of slavery takes place, it will be an event which must be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of human nature."

In the Ratification Convention of Virginia, Mr. Johnson said, "The principle of emancipation has begun since the revolution. Let us do what we will, it will come round."

In the course of the debate in the Congress of 1789, the first under the Constitution, on a petition against the slave-trade, Mr. Parker, of Virginia, remarked that "He hoped Congress would do all that lay in their power to restore human nature to its inherent privileges, and, if possible, wipe off the stigma which America labored under. The inconsistency in our principles, with which we are justly charged should be done away, that we may show by our actions the pure beneficence of the doctrine which we held out to the world in our Declaration of Independence." In the same debate Mr. Brown, of North Carolina observed, "The emancipation of the slaves will be effected in time: it ought to be a gradual business; but he hoped Congress would not precipitate it to the great injury of the Southern States." And Mr. Jackson, of Georgia, complained, "That it was THE FASHION OF THE DAY to favor the liberty of the slaves."

These citations might be indefinitely multiplied, but we forbear. Well might Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, remark in 1832, "I thought, till very lately, that it was known to every body, that during the revolution and for many years after, the abolition of slavery was a favorite topic with many of our ablest statesmen, who entertained with respect all the schemes which wisdom or ingenuity could suggest for accomplishing the object."

Fellow Citizens: The Public Acts and the Recorded Opinions of the Fathers of the Revolution are before you. Let us pause here. Let

us reflect what would have been the condition of the country had the original policy of the nation been steadily pursued, and contrast what would have been with what is.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania had become non-slaveholding States. By the ordinance of 1787, provision had been made for the erection of five other non-slaveholding States. The admission of Vermont and the District of Maine, as separate States without slavery was also anticipated. There was no doubt that New-York and New Jersey would follow the example of Pennsylvania. Thus it was supposed to be certain that the Union would ultimately embrace at least fourteen free States, and that slavery would be excluded from all territory thereafter acquired by the nation, and from all States created out of such territory.

This was the true understanding upon which the Constitution was adopted. It was never imagined that new slave States were to be admitted; unless, perhaps, which seems probable, it was contemplated to admit the Western Districts of Virginia and North Carolina, now known as Kentucky and Tennessee, as States, without any reference to the slavery already established in them. In no event, to which our Fathers looked forward, could the number of slave States exceed eight, while it was almost certain that the number of free States would be at least fourteen. It was never supposed that slavery was to be a cherished interest of the country, or even a permanent institution of any State. It was expected that all the States, stimulated by the examples before them, and urged by their own avowed principles recorded in the Declaration, would, at no distant day, put an end to slavery within their respective limits. So strong was this expectation, that JAMES CAMPBELL, in an address at Philadelphia, before the Society of the Cincinnati, in 1787, which was attended by the Constitution-Convention then in session, declared, "the time is not far distant when our sister States, in imitation of our example, shall turn their vassals into freemen." And Jonathan Edwards predicted in 1791, that, "in fifty years from this time, it will be as disgraceful for a man to hold a negro slave, as to be guilty of common robbery or theft."

It cannot be doubted that, had the original policy and original principles of the Government been adhered to, this expectation would have been realized. The example and influence of the General Government would have been on the side of freedom. Slavery would have ceased in the District of Columbia immediately upon the establishment of the Government within its limits. Slavery would have disappeared from Louisiana and Florida upon the acquisition of those territories by the United States. No laws would have been enacted, no treaties made, no measures taken for the extension or maintenance of slavery. Amid the rejoicings of all the free, and the congratulations of all friends of freedom, the last fetter would, ere now, have been stricken from the last slave, and the Principles and Institutions of Liberty would have pervaded the entire land.

How different—how sadly different are the facts of History! LUTHER MARTIN complained at the time of the adoption of the Constitution,

"that when our own liberties were at stake, we warmly felt for the common rights of men: the danger being thought to be passed which threatened ourselves, we are daily growing more and more insensible to those rights." This insensibility continued to increase, and prepared the way for the encroachments of the political slave power, which originated in the three-fifths rule of the Constitution. This rule, designed perhaps as a censure upon slavery by denying to the slave States the full representation to which their population would entitle them, has had a very different practical effect. It has virtually established in the country an aristocracy of slaveholders. It has conferred on masters the right of representation for three-fifths of their slaves. The representation from the slave States in Congress, has always been from one-fifth to one-fourth greater than it would have been, were freemen only represented. Under the first apportionment according to this rate, a district in a free State containing thirty thousand free inhabitants would have one representative. A district in a slave State, containing three thousand free persons and forty-five thousand slaves, would also have one. In the first district a representative could be elected only by the majority of five thousand votes: in the other he would need only the majority of five hundred. Of course, the representation from slave States, elected by a much smaller constituency, and bound together by a common tie, would generally act in concert and always with special regard to the interests of masters whose representatives in fact they were. Every Aristocracy in the world has sustained itself by encroachment, and the Aristocracy of slave-holders in this country has not been an exception to the general truth. The nation has always been divided into parties, and the slave-holders, by making the protection and advancement of their peculiar interests the price of their political support, have generally succeeded in controlling all. This influence has greatly increased the insensibility to human rights, of which MARTIN indignantly complained. It has upheld slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories in spite of the Constitution: it has added to the Union five slave States created out of national Territories: it has usurped the control of our foreign negotiation, and domestic legislation: it has dictated the choice of the high officers of our Government at home, and of our national representatives abroad: it has filled every department of executive and judicial administration with its friends and satellites: it has detained in slavery multitudes who are constitutionally entitled to their freedom: it has waged unrelenting war with the most sacred rights of the free, stifling the freedom of speech and of debate, setting at nought the right of petition, and denying in the slave States those immunities to the citizens of the free, which the Constitution guarantees: and, finally, it has dictated the acquisition of an immense foreign territory, not for the laudable purpose of extending the blessings of freedom, but with the bad design of diffusing the curse of slavery, and thereby consolidating and perpetuating its own ascendancy.

Against this influence, against these infractions of the Constitution, against these departures from the National policy originally adopted, against these violations of the National

faith originally pledged, we solemnly protest. Nor do we propose only to protest. We recognize the obligations which rest upon us as descendants of the Men of the Revolution, as inheritors of the Institutions which they established, as partakers of the blessings which they so dearly purchased, to carry forward and perfect their work. We mean to do it, wisely and prudently, but with energy and decision. We have the example of our Fathers on our side. We have the Constitution of their adoption on our side. It is our duty and our purpose to rescue the Government from the control of the slaveholders; to harmonize its practical administration with the provisions of the Constitution, and to secure to all, without exception and without partiality, the rights which the Constitution guaranties. We believe that slaveholding in the United States is the source of numberless evils, moral, social and political; that it hinders social progress; that it embitters public and private intercourse; that it degrades us as individuals, as States, and as a Nation; that it holds back our country from a splendid career of greatness and glory. We are, therefore, resolutely, inflexibly, at all times, and under all circumstances, hostile to its longer continuance in our land. We believe that its removal can be effected peacefully, constitutionally, without real injury to any, with the greatest benefit to all.

We propose to effect this by repealing all legislation, and discontinuing all action in favor of slavery, at home and abroad; by prohibiting the practice of slaveholding in all places of exclusive national jurisdiction, in the District of Columbia, in American vessels upon the seas, in forts, arsenals, navy yards; by forbidding the employment of slaves upon any public work; by adopting resolutions in Congress declaring that slaveholding in all States created out of national territories is unconstitutional, and recommending to the others the immediate adoption of measures for its extinction within their respective limits; and by electing and appointing to public station such men, and only such men as openly avow our principles, and will honestly carry out our measures.

The constitutionality of this line of action cannot be successfully impeached. That it will terminate, if steadily pursued, in the utter overthrow of slavery at no very distant day, none will doubt. We adopt it because we desire, through and by the Constitution, to attain the great ends which the Constitution itself proposes, the establishment of justice, and the security of liberty.—We insist not, here upon the opinions of some, that no slaveholding in any State of the Union is compatible with a true and just construction of the Constitution; nor upon the opinions of others, that the Declaration of Independence setting forth the creed of the nation, that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right of liberty, must be regarded as the Common Law of America, antecedent to and unimpaired by the Constitution; nor need we appeal to the doctrine that slaveholding is contrary to the Supreme Law of the Supreme Ruler, preceding and controlling all human law, and binding upon all legislatures in the enactment of laws, and upon all courts in the administration of justice. We are willing to take our stand upon propositions generally conceded:—that slaveholding is contrary to

natural right and justice; that it can subsist nowhere without the sanction and aid of positive legislation; that the Constitution expressly prohibits Congress from depriving any person of liberty without due process of law. From these propositions we deduce, by logical inference, the doctrines upon which we insist. We deprecate all discord among the States; but do not dread discord so much as we do the subjugation of the States and the people to the yoke of the Slaveholding Oligarchy. We deprecate the dissolution of the Union, as a dreadful political calamity; but if any of the States shall prefer dissolution to submission to the Constitutional action of the people on the subject of slavery, we cannot purchase their alliance by the sacrifice of inestimable rights and the abandonment of sacred duties.

Such, fellow citizens, are our views, principles, and objects. We invite your co-operation in the great work of delivering our beloved country from the evils of slavery. No question half so important as that of slavery; engages the attention of the American people. All others, in fact, dwindle into insignificance in comparison with it. The question of slavery is, and until it shall be settled, must be, the paramount moral and political question of the day. We, at least, so regard it; and, so regarding it, must subordinate every other question to it.

It follows as a necessary consequence, that we cannot yield our political support to any party which does not take our ground upon this question.

What then is the position of the political parties of the country in relation to this subject?—One of these parties professes to be guided by the most liberal principles. "Equal and exact justice to all men;" "equal rights for all men;" "inflexible opposition to oppression," are its favorite mottos. It claims to be the true friend of popular government, and assumes the name of democratic. Among its members are doubtless many who cherish its professions as sacred principles, and believe that the great cause of Freedom and Progress is to be served by promoting its ascendancy. But when we compare the maxims of the so-called democratic party with its acts, its hypocrisy is plainly revealed. Among its leading members we find the principal slaveholders, the Chiefs of the Oligarchy. It has never scrupled to sacrifice the rights of the free States or of the people to the demands of the Slave Power. Like Sir Pertinax McSycophant, its northern leaders believe that the great secret of advancement lies in "bowing well." No servility seems too gross, no self-degradation too great, to be submitted to. They think themselves well rewarded, if the unity of the Party can be preserved, and the spoils of victory secured. If, in the distribution of these spoils, they receive only the jackall's share, they content themselves with the reflection that little is better than nothing. They declaim loudly against all monopolies, all special privileges, all encroachments on personal rights, all distinctions founded upon birth, and compensate themselves for these efforts of virtue by practising the vilest oppression upon all their countrymen in whose complexions the slightest trace of African derivation can be detected.

Profoundly do we revere the maxims of True Democracy; they are identical with those of True Christianity, in relation to the rights and

duties of men as citizens. And our reverence for Democratic Principles is the precise measure of our detestation of the policy of those who are permitted to shape the action of the Democratic Party. Political concert with that party under its present leadership, is, therefore, plainly impossible. Nor do we entertain the hope, which many, no doubt, honestly cherish, that the professed principles of the party will at length bring it right upon the question of slavery. Its professed principles have been the same for near half a century, and yet the subjection of the party to the slave power is, at this moment, as complete as ever. There is no prospect of any change for the better, until those democrats whose hearts are really possessed by a generous love of liberty for all, and by an honest hatred of oppression, shall manfully assert their individual independence, and refuse their support to the panders of slavery.

There is another party which boasts that it is conservative in its character. Its watchwords are "a tariff," "a banking system," "the Union as it is." Among its members, also, are many sincere opponents of slavery; and the party itself, seeking aid in the attainment of power, and anxious to carry its favorite measures and bound together by no such professed principles as secure the unity of the Democratic Party, often concedes much to their anti-slavery views. It is not unwilling, in those States and parts of States where anti-slavery sentiment prevails, to assume an anti-slavery attitude and claim to be an anti-slavery party. Like the Democratic party, however, the Whig party maintains alliances with the slaveholders. It proposes, in its national conventions, no action against slavery. It has no anti-slavery article in its national creed. Among its leaders and champions in Congress and out of Congress, none are so honored and trusted as slaveholders in practice and in principle. Whatever the Whig party, therefore, concedes to anti-slavery must be reluctantly conceded. Its natural position is conservative. Its natural line of action is to maintain things as they are. Its natural bond of union is regard for interests rather than for rights. There are, doubtless, zealous opponents of slavery, who are also zealous Whigs; but they have not the general confidence of their party; they are under the ban of the slaveholders; and in any practical anti-slavery movement, as, for example, the repeal of the laws which sanction slaveholding in the District of Columbia, would meet the determined opposition of a large and most influential section of the party, not because the people of the free States would be opposed to the measure, but because it would be displeasing to the oligarchy and fatal to party unity. We are constrained to think, therefore, that all expectation of efficient anti-slavery action from the Whig party as now organized, will prove delusive. Nor do we perceive any probability of a change in its organization, separating its anti-slavery from its pro-slavery constituents, and leaving the former in possession of the name and influence of the party. With the Whig party, therefore, as at present organized, it is as impossible for us whose mottoes are "Equal Rights and Fair Wages for all" and "the Union as it should be," to act in alliance and concert, as it is for us so to act with the so called Democratic party. We cannot choose between these parties for the sake of any local or partial ad-

vantage, without sacrificing consistency, self-respect, and mutual confidence. While we say this, we are bound to add that were either of these parties to disappoint our expectations, and adopt into its *national creed as its leading articles*, the principles which we regard as fundamental, and enter upon a course of unfeigned and earnest action against the system of slavery, we should not hesitate, regarding as we do, the question of slavery as the paramount question of our day and nation, to give to it our cordial and vigorous support, until slavery should be no more.

With what party, then, shall we act? Or shall we act with none? Act, in some way, we must: for the possession of the right of suffrage, the right of electing our own law makers and rulers, imposes upon us the corresponding duty of voting for men who will carry out the views which we deem of paramount importance and obligation. Act together we must; for upon the questions which we regard as the most vital we are fully agreed. We must act then; act together; and act against slavery and oppression. Acting thus, we necessarily act as a party; for what is a party, but a body of citizens, acting together politically, in good faith, upon common principles, for a common object? And if there be a party already in existence, animated by the same motives and aiming at the same results as ourselves, we must act with and in that party.

That there is such a party, is well known.—It is the Liberty Party of the United States. Its principles, measures and objects we cordially approve. It founds itself upon the great cardinal principle of true Democracy and of true Christianity, the brotherhood of the Human Family. It avows its purpose to wage implacable war against slaveholding as the direct form of oppression, and then against every other species of tyranny and injustice. Its views on the subject of slavery in this country are, in the main, the same as those which we have set forth in this address. Its members agree to regard the extinction of slavery as the most important end which can, at this time, be proposed to political action; and they agree to differ as to other questions of minor importance, such as those of trade and currency, believing that these can be satisfactorily disposed of, when the question of slavery shall be settled, and that, until then, they cannot be satisfactorily disposed of at all.

The rise of such a party as this was anticipated long before its actual organization, by the single-hearted and patriotic Charles Follen, a German by birth, but a true American by adoption and in spirit. "If there ever is to be in this country," he said in 1836, "a party that shall take its name and character, not from particular liberal measures or popular men, but from its uncompromising and consistent adherence to Freedom—a truly liberal and thoroughly republican party, it must direct its first decided effort against the grossest form, the most complete manifestation of oppression; and, having taken anti-slavery ground, it must carry out the principle of Liberty in all its consequences. It must support every measure conducive to the greatest possible individual and social, moral, intellectual, religious and political freedom, whether that measure be brought forward by inconsistent slaveholders or consistent freemen. It must embrace the whole

sphere of human action; watching and opposing the slightest illiberal and anti-republican tendency, and concentrating its whole force and influence against slavery itself, in comparison with which every other species of tyranny is tolerable, and by which every other is strengthened and justified."

Thus wrote Charles Follen in 1836. It is impossible to express better the want which enlightened lovers of liberty felt of a real Democratic party in the country—Democratic not in name only, but in deed and in truth. In this want, thus felt, the Liberty Party had its origin, and so long as this want remains otherwise unsatisfied, the Liberty party must exist; not as a mere Abolition party, but as a truly Democratic party, which aims at the extinction of slavery, because slaveholding is inconsistent with Democratic principles; aims at it, not as an ultimate end, but as the most important present object; as a great and necessary step in the work of reform; as an illustrious era in the advancement of society, to be wrought out by its action and instrumentality. The Liberty party of 1845 is, in truth, the Liberty party of 1776 revived. It is more: It is the party of Advancement and Freedom, which has, in every age, and with varying success, fought the battles of Human Liberty, against the party of False Conservatism and Slavery.

And now, fellow-citizens, permit us to ask, whether you will not give to this party the aid of your votes, and of your counsels? Its aims are lofty, and noble, and pacific; its means are simple and unobjectionable. Why should it not have your co-operation?

Are you already anti-slavery men? Let us ask, is it not far better to act with those with whom you agree on the fundamental point of slavery, and swell the vote and augment the moral force of anti-slavery, rather than to act with those with whom you agree only on minor points; and thus, for the time, swell a vote and augment an influence which must be counted against the Liberty movement, in the vain hope that those with whom you thus act now, will, at some indefinite future period, act with you for the overthrow of slavery? There are, perhaps, nearly equal numbers of you in each of the pro-slavery parties, honestly opposed to each other on questions of trade, currency, and extension of territory, but of one mind on the great question of slavery; and yet, you suffer yourselves to be played off against each other by parties which agree in nothing except hostility to the great measure of positive action against slavery, which seems to you and is of paramount importance? What can you gain by this course? What may you not gain by laying your minor differences on the altar of duty, and uniting as one man, in one party, against slavery? Then every vote would tell for freedom, and would encourage the friends of Liberty to fresh efforts. Now every vote, whether you intend it so or not, tells for slavery, and operates as a discouragement and hindrance to those who are contending for Equal Rights. Let us entreat you not to persevere in your suicidal, fratricidal course; but to renounce at once all pro slavery alliances, and join the friends of Liberty. It is not the question now whether a Liberty party shall be organized; it is organized and in the field. The real question, and the only real question, is: Will you, so far as your votes and influence go, hasten or retard the day of its triumph?

Are you men of the Free States? And have you not suffered enough of wrong, of insult, and of contumely from the slaveholding Oligarchy? Have you not been taxed enough for the support of slavery? Is it not enough that all the powers of the government are exerted for its maintenance, and that all the Departments of the Government are in the hands of the Slave Power? How long will you consent by your votes to maintain slavery at the seat of the National Government, in violation of the Constitution of your country, and thus, give your direct sanction to the whole dreadful system? How long will you consent to be represented in the National Councils by men who will not dare to assert their own rights or yours in the presence of an arrogant aristocracy; and, in your State Legislatures, by men whose utmost height of courage and manly daring, when your citizens are imprisoned, without allegation of crime, in slave States, and your agents, sent for their relief, are driven out, as you would scourge from your premises an intrusive cur, is to *protest and submit*. Rouse up, Men of the Free States, for shame, if not for duty! Awake to a sense of your degraded position. Behold your president, a slaveholder; his cabinet composed of slaveholders or their abject instruments; the two houses of Congress submissive and servile; your representatives with foreign nations most of them, slaveholders; your supreme administrators of justice, most of them slaveholders; your officers of the army and navy most of them slaveholders.—Observe the results. What numerous appointments of pro-slavery citizens of slave States to national employments! What careful exclusion of every man who holds the faith of Jefferson and Washington in respect to slavery, and believes with Madison "that it is wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea of property in man," from national offices of honor and trust! What assiduity in negotiations for the reclamation of slaves, cast, in the Providence of God, on foreign shores, and for the extension of the markets of cotton and rice and tobacco, aye, and of men! What zeal on the judicial bench in wresting the Constitution and the law to the purposes of slaveholders, by shielding kidnappers from merited punishment, and paralyzing State legislation for the security of personal liberty! What readiness in legislation to serve the interests of the Oligarchy by unconstitutional provisions for the recovery of fugitive slaves and by laying heavy duties on slave-labor products, thereby compelling non-slaveholding laborers to support slaveholders in idleness and luxury! When shall these things have an end? How long shall servile endurance be protracted? It is for you, fellow-citizens, to determine. The shameful partiality to slaveholders and slavery which has so long prevailed and now prevails in the administration of the government will cease when you determine that it shall cease, and act accordingly.

Are you non-slaveholders of the slave States? Let us ask you to consider what interest you have in the system of slavery. What benefits does it confer on you? What blessings does it promise to your children? You constitute the vast majority of the population of the slave States. The aggregate votes of all the slaveholders do not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand, while the votes of the non-slavehold-

ers will number at least six hundred thousand, supposing each adult male to possess a vote.—It is clear, therefore, that the continuance of slavery depends upon your suffrages. We repeat, what interest have you in supporting the system?

Slavery diminishes your population and hinders your prosperity. Compare New York with Virginia, Ohio with Kentucky, Arkansas with Michigan, Florida with Iowa. Need we say more?

It prevents general education. It is not the interest of slaveholders that poor non-slaveholders should be educated. The census of 1840 reveals the astounding facts that more than one-seventeenth of the white population in the slave States are unable to read or write, while not a hundred and fiftieth part of the same class in the free are in the same condition, and that there are more than twelve times as many scholars at public charge in the free States as in the slave States.

It paralyzes your industry and enterprise.—The census of 1840 also disclosed the fact that the free States, with two millions and a quarter inhabitants more, and ninety eight millions acres less than the slave States, produce annually, in value, from Mines thirty-three millions dollars more; from the Forests, eight millions dollars more; from Fisheries, nine millions dollars more; from Agriculture, forty millions dollars more; from Manufactures, one hundred and fifty one millions dollars more. At the same time, the capital invested in commerce by the free States exceeds the capital similarly invested in the slave States by more than one hundred millions of dollars; and the tonnage of the former exceeds the tonnage of the latter by more than a thousand millions tons! This enormous disparity, which will strike attention the more forcibly when it is considered that much of the capital employed in the slave States is owed in the free, can be ascribed to no cause except slavery.

It degrades and dishonors labor. In what country did an Aristocracy ever care for the poor? When did slaveholders ever attempt to improve the condition of the free laborer.—“White negroes” is the contemptuous term by which Robert Wickliffe, of Kentucky, designated the free laborers of his State. He saw no distinction between them and slaves, except that the former may be converted into voters.—Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, teaches that, “so far as the mere laborer has the pride, the knowledge or the aspiration of a freeman, he is unfitted for his situation.” And he likens the laborer “to the horse or the ox,” to whom it would be ridiculous to attempt to impart “a cultivated understanding or fine feeling.” Governor McDuffie, in a Message to the Legislature of South Carolina, went so far as to say that, “the institution of domestic slavery supercedes the necessity of an order of nobility, and the other appendages of an hereditary system of government.” Of course the slaveholders are the noble, and you, the non-slaveholders, are the ignoble, of this social system.

Slavery corrupts the religion and destroys the morals of a community. We need not repeat Jefferson’s strong testimony. In a message to the Legislature of Kentucky, some years since, the Governor said, “We long to see the day when the law will assert its majesty, and stop the wanton destruction of life which al-

most daily occurs within the jurisdiction of this Commonwealth.” And the Governor of Alabama, in a message to the Legislature of that State, said, “Why do we hear of stabbings and shootings, almost daily, in some part or other of our State.” A Judge in New Orleans, in an address on the opening of his Court, observed, “Without some powerful and certain remedy our streets will become butcheries, overflowing with the blood of our citizens.” These terrible pictures are drawn by home pencils. Can communities prosper when religion and morality furnish no stronger restraints on violence and passion?

Slavery is a source of most deplorable weakness. What a panic is spread by the bare suggestion of a servile insurrection? And how completely are the slaveholding States at the mercy of any invading foe who will raise the standard of emancipation? In the Revolutionary War, according to the Secret Journals of Congress, South Carolina was “unable to make any effectual efforts with militia, by reason of the great proportion of citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and to prevent the desertion of them to the enemy.” We need not say that if the danger of insurrection was then great, it would be, circumstances being similar, tenfold greater now.

Slavery seeks to deprive non-slaveholders of political power. In Virginia and South Carolina especially, has this policy been most steadily and successfully pursued. In South Carolina the political power of the State is lodged in the great slaveholding Districts by the Constitution, and to make assurance doubly sure, it is provided, in that instrument, that no person can be a member of the Legislature unless he owns five hundred acres of land and ten slaves, or an equivalent in additional land. The right of voting for electors of President and Vice President is, in South Carolina, confined to Members of the Legislature; consequently, in that State no non-slaveholder can have a voice in the selection of the First and Second Officers of the Republic. In Virginia the slave population is considered the basis of political power, and the preponderance of representation is given to those districts in which there is the largest slave population. The House of Representatives consists of one hundred and thirty four members, of whom fifty-six are chosen by the counties west of the Blue Ridge, and seventy-eight by the counties east. The Senate consists of thirty-two members, of whom thirteen are assigned to the western, and nineteen to the eastern counties. Already the free white population west of the Blue Ridge exceeds the same class east in number, but no change in the population can affect this distribution of political power, designed to secure and preserve the ascendancy of the slaveholders, who chiefly reside east of the Ridge, so long as the Constitution remains unchanged.

These, non-slaveholders of the slave States, are the fruits of slavery. You surely can have no reason to love a system which entails such consequences. Yet it lives by your sufferance. You have only to speak the word at the ballot-box, and the system falls. Will you be restrained from speaking that word by the consideration that the enslaved will be benefited as well as yourselves; or by the selfish expectation that you may yourselves become slave-

holders hereafter, and so be admitted into the ranks of the Aristocracy? If such considerations withhold you, we bid you beware lest you prepare a bitter retribution for yourselves, and find to your mortification and shame, that a patent of nobility, written in the tears and blood of the oppressed, is a sorry passport to the approbation of mankind.

We would appeal, also, to slaveholders themselves. We would enter at once within the lines of selfish ideas and mercenary motives, and appeal to your consciences and your hearts.—You know that the system of slaveholding is wrong. Whatever theologians may teach and cite scripture for, you know—all of you who claim freedom for yourselves and your children as a birthright precious beyond all price, and inalienable as life—that no person can rightfully hold another as a slave. Your courts in their judicial decisions, and your books of common law in their elementary lessons, rise far above the precepts of most of your religious teachers, and declare all slaveholding to be against natural right. You feel it to be so. God has so made the human heart, that, in spite of all theological sophistry and pretended scripture proofs, you cannot help feeling it to be so.—There is a law of sublimer origin, and more awful sanction than any human code, written in ineffaceable characters, upon every heart of man, which binds all to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. And where is there one of all your number who would exchange conditions with the happiest of all your slaves? Produce the man! And until he is produced, let theological apologists for slaveholding keep silence. Most earnestly would we entreat you to listen to the voice of conscience and obey the promptings of humanity. We are not your enemies. We do not pretend to any superior virtue; or that we, being in your circumstances, would be likely to act differently from you. But we are all fellow-citizens of the same great republic. We feel slaveholding to be a dreadful incubus upon us, dishonoring us in the eyes of foreign nations; nullifying the force of our example of free institutions; holding us back from a glorious career of prosperity and renown; sowing broadcast the seeds of discord, division, disunion: and we are anxious for its extinction.—With Jefferson, we tremble for our country when we “remember that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever.” With Washington we believe “that there is but one proper and effectual mode by which the extinction of slavery can be accomplished, and that is, by legislative authority; and this, so far as our suffrages will go, shall not be wanting.”

We would not invade the Constitution: but we would have the Constitution rightly construed and administered according to its true sense and spirit. We would not dictate the mode in which slavery should be attacked in particular States; but we would have it removed at once from all places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the national government, and, also, have immediate measures taken, in accordance with constitutional rights and the principles of justice, for its removal from each State by State authority. In this work we ask your co-operation. Shall we ask in vain? Are you not convinced that the almost absolute monopoly of the offices and the patronage of the government, and the almost exclusive control of

its legislation and executive and judicial administration, by slaveholders, and for the purposes of slavery, is unjust to the non-slaveholders of the country? Can you blame us for saying that we will no longer sanction it? Are you not satisfied, to use the language of one of your own number, “that slavery is a cancer, a slow consuming cancer, a withering pestilence, an unmitigated curse.” And can you wonder that we should be anxious, by all just, and honorable and constitutional means, to effect its extinction in our respective States and to confine it to its constitutional limits? Are you not fully aware that the gross inconsistency of slaveholding with our professed principles astonishes the world, and makes the Name of our Country a mock, and the Name of Liberty a byword? And can you regret that we should exert ourselves to the utmost to redeem our glorious land and her institutions from just reproach, and, by illustrious acts of mercy and justice, place ourselves, once more, in the van of Human Progress and Advancement?

Finally, we ask all true friends of Liberty, of Impartial, Universal Liberty, to be firm and steadfast. The little handful of voters, who, in 1840, wearied of compromising expediency, and despairing of anti-slavery action by pro-slavery parties, raised anew the standard of the Declaration, and manfully resolved to vote right then and vote for Freedom, has already swelled to a GREAT PARTY, strong enough numerically to decide the issue of any national contest, and stronger far in the power of its pure and elevating principles. And if these principles be sound, which we doubt not, and if the question of slavery be, as we verily believe it is, the GREAT QUESTION of our day and nation, it is a libel upon the intelligence, the patriotism, and the virtue of the American people to say that there is no hope that a majority will not array themselves under our banner. Let it not be said that we are factious or impracticable. We adhere to our views because we believe them to be sound, practicable and vitally important. We have already said that we are ready to prove our devotion to our principles by co-operating with either of the other two great American Parties, which will openly and honestly, in State and National Conventions, avow our doctrines and adopt our measures, until slavery shall be overthrown. We do not indeed expect any such adoption and avowal by either of those parties, because we are well aware that they fear more, at present, from the loss of slaveholding support than from the loss of anti-slavery co-operation. But we can be satisfied with nothing less, for we will compromise no longer; and, therefore, must, of necessity, maintain our separate organization as the True Democratic Party of the country, and trust our cause to the patronage of the People and the blessing of God!

Carry then, Friends of Freedom and Free Labor, your principles to the ballot box. Let no difficulties discourage, no dangers daunt, no delays dishearten you. Your solemn vow that Slavery must perish is registered in Heaven. Renew that vow! Think of the martyrs of Truth and Freedom; think of the millions of the Enslaved; think of the other millions of the oppressed and degraded Free: And renew that vow! Be not tempted from the path of political duty. Vote for no man, act with no party politically connected with the supporters

of Slavery. Vote for no man, act with no party unwilling to adopt and carry out the principles which we have set forth in this address. To compromise for any partial or temporary advantage is ruin to our cause. To act with any party or to vote for the candidates of any party which recognizes the friends and supporters of slavery as members in full standing, because in particular places or under particular circumstances, it may make large professions of anti-slavery zeal, is to commit political suicide. Unswerving fidelity to our principles; unalterable determination to carry those principles to the ballot box at every election; inflexible and unanimous support of those and only those who are true to those principles are the conditions of our ultimate triumph. Let these conditions be fulfilled; and our triumph is certain. The indications of its coming multiply on every hand. The clarion trump of

Freedom breaks already the gloomy silence of Slavery in Kentucky, and its echoes are heard throughout the land. A spirit of enquiry and of action is awakened every where. The assemblage of the Convention, whose voice we utter, is itself an auspicious omen. Gathered from the North and the South, and the East and West, we here unite our counsels, and consolidate our action. We are resolved to go forward knowing that our cause is just trusting in God. We ask you to go forward with us: invoking His blessing who sent his Son to redeem mankind. With Him are the issues of all events. He can and He will disappoint all the devices of oppression. He can, and we trust He will, make our instrumentality efficient for the redemption of our land from Slavery, and for the fulfilment of our Fathers' Pledge in behalf of Freedom, before Him and before the World.

Proceedings of the Southern and Western Liberty Convention.

Held at the Tabernacle in Cincinnati, June 11, 1845.

The Southern and Western Liberty Convention met at the Tabernacle, in Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the 11th of June, 1845, at 9 A. M. More than two thousand delegates were present from Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Virginia and Michigan, and distinguished strangers were present from Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York: Rev. John Pierpont and Wm. Jackson of Massachusetts, Mr. Jamison of Rhode Island, and Geo. W. Clark of New York.

S. P. Chase, from Committee of Arrangements, called the Convention to order at 10 A. M., and moved that a temporary organization be formed by calling Samuel Lewis, of Ohio, to the Chair, and Thomas Heaton, of Ohio, as Secretary, which was adopted.

A few minutes were then spent in silent devotion, after which Rev. James H. Dickey led the public devotion by a fervent appeal to the Throne of Grace.

On motion of Dr. Brisbane, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the permanent organization of the Convention, and report rules for its government, viz:—Dr. W. H. Brisbane of Ohio, Wm. F. Clark of Pennsylvania, John G. Fee of Kentucky, Mr. Brownlee of Indiana, Rev. J. H. Dickey of Illinois, and Charles H. Stewart of Michigan.

The Chair then read letters from Wm. H. Seward of New York, Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, Horace Greely of New York, Elihu Burritt of Massachusetts, and Judge Wm. Jay of New York.

Dr. Brisbane, from the Committee to report officers for the permanent organization of the Convention, made report as follows:—

President—JAMES G. BIRNEY, of Michigan.

Vice Presidents—S. C. Stevens, Indiana; Stephen E. Giffen, Ohio; Hiram Mendenhall, Indiana; John G. Fee, Kentucky; Edgar Needham, Kentucky; J. Codding, Illinois; A. L. Barber, Wisconsin; Owen Lovejoy, Illinois; James H. Dickey, Illinois; Robert Hanna, Pennsylvania; Stephen S. Harding, Indiana; John Keep, Ohio; Thomas Miller, Pennsylvania; David Craig, Virginia; Samuel Lewis, Ohio.

Secretaries—Thomas Heaton, Ohio; M. R. Hull, Indiana; Russell Errett, Pennsylvania.

The Chairman, Mr. Lewis, then introduced Mr. Birney to the Convention, who returned thanks for the honor done him and addressed the Convention for a few minutes on the present aspects of the Anti-Slavery cause.

After the officers had taken their seats, Mr. Geo. W. Clark of New York sang, in his best style, a Liberty song.

On motion, all strangers from States not embraced in the Call, and in attendance on the Convention, were requested to take seats as delegates, and participate with us in our deliberations.

On motion of S. P. Chase, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to report resolutions and an Address:—S. P. Chase, Ohio; Edward Smith, Pennsylvania; M. Cabell, Indiana; J. H. Dickey, Illinois; J. G. Fee, Kentucky.

On motion, Thomas K. Smith, and Henry Lewis of Ohio; Walter Edgington and Dr. Bingham of Indiana; and Robert Hanna of Pennsylvania, were appointed a Committee of Ways and Means.

The Committee to report rules for the government of the Convention, submitted a series

of rules. The fifth rule was, on motion, laid on the table, and the other rules adopted.

After a song by Mr. Clark, the Convention adjourned till 2 P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order by Mr. Lewis, one of the Vice Presidents, who, by request, read letters from Wm. Goodell, of N. Y., and Phineas Crandall, a Presiding Elder of the M. E. Church, in Massachusetts.

Mr. Chase from the Committee, submitted a series of resolutions, which were read, and laid over for consideration to-morrow. The same gentleman, from the same Committee, reported an address to the people of the United States, which was read and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Clark then sang a Liberty song.

On motion, John A. Wills, of Pa., E. Needham, of Ky., J. Coddington, of Ill., S. S. Hardinge, of Ia., and T. B. Hudson, of Ohio, were appointed a committee to draft a Constitution for a Mississippi Valley Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Clarke then sang the "Liberty Ball," with the help of the Convention to "roll it along," when an adjournment to 8 P. M. took place.

Evening Session.

The President called the Convention to order. The evening was spent in hearing addresses and songs. Mr. Wills, of Pa., Edgar Needham, of Ky., Judge Stevens, of Ia., and Samuel Lewis, of Ohio, addressed the Convention in a very happy manner, the intervals between the speeches being enlivened by songs from Mr. Clarke. At half past ten o'clock the Convention adjourned till 8 A. M. to-morrow.

Thursday, June 12, 9 A. M.

The President called the Convention to order. When the proceedings were opened by prayer by Rev. Mr. Fee, of Kentucky.

Wm. Jackson, of Massachusetts, then addressed the Convention, and was followed in a few words by the President.

Mr. Chase then called up the resolutions submitted yesterday, which after being read, discussed and amended were adopted as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That no party can justly claim to be a truly Democratic party, which does not propose to itself the abrogation, by every honorable, just, and constitutional means, of all legalized despotism and oppression, within the reach of its political influence; and, therefore, that party which, at present, claims the honorable title of the Democratic party of the United States, but refuses to act at all against the worst form and most malignant kind of despotism and oppression, and perseveres in a monstrous alliance with slaveholders, and in sustaining slavery with the whole energy of national authority, in disregard of the Constitution and of Right, has forfeited all claim to be so designated or regarded.

2. *Resolved*, That that party only, which adopts in good faith, the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and proposes, whenever and wherever it may obtain the necessary political power, to administer the National and State Governments in conformity to those principles, without regard to persons, and, therefore, to direct, openly and honestly, its most decisive and energetic action against slavery, and the oppression which originates in slavery, as the greatest evil and most threatening dan-

ger of our day and nation, and then, to oppose all measures which endanger, and to support all just measures which favor human liberty, is the true Democratic party of the United States.

3. *Resolved*, That we love the Union and desire its perpetuity, and revere the Constitution, and are determined to maintain it; but the Union which we love must be an Union to establish justice, and secure the blessings of Liberty: and the Constitution which we support, must be that which our Fathers bequeathed to us, and not that which the constructions of Slavery and Servilism have substituted for it.

4. *Resolved*, That it is vain for any party to look for our co-operation, which refuses or omits in its State and National Conventions to avow our principles and adopt our measures.— And it is because the Liberty party is the only party which does avow our principles and adopt our measures, that we propose to give to it our cordial and united support.

5. *Resolved*, That as a National Party, our purpose and determination is to divorce the National Government from Slavery; to prohibit slaveholding in all places of exclusive national jurisdiction; to abolish the domestic slave trade; to harmonize the administration of the Government in all its departments with the principles of the Declaration; and, in all proper and constitutional modes to discourage and discontinue the system of work without wages; but not to interfere, unconstitutionally, with the local legislation of particular States.

6. *Resolved*, That in the late struggle for the Presidency, we cannot perceive that the Liberty party evinced any preference for the candidates of either of the other parties, both being slaveholders and partizans of slavery; but are satisfied that they voted for their own candidates simply because they represented their own views and measures, which neither of the candidates of the other parties did or could, and because they reposed in them a trust and confidence which the efforts and arts of their opponents failed to destroy or diminish.

7. *Resolved*, That we earnestly desire an union of all sincere friends of Liberty and Free Labor upon the grounds set forth by this Convention; and would respectfully recommend that, wherever those who concur in the principles and doctrines of this Convention are found together in sufficient numbers, they nominate candidates for all elective offices, and support them with unanimity and vigor, and that they should, in all cases, abstain from the support of candidates nominated by and representing any pro-slavery party.

8. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Convention, no nomination should be made for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States before the fall of 1847, or the spring of 1848; and that, in the mean time, all questions in relation to these nominations should be kept entirely open; and that, when the proper time shall arrive, that such candidates should be selected as will unite the largest and most cordial support, with undoubted capacity and unequivocal devotion to our principles and measures.

9. *Resolved*, That we deeply sympathize with all those who, for no other offence than that of peacefully aiding the enslaved in attempting to regain that freedom which our nation has declared to be inalienable, are unjustly imprisoned; and we especially denounce the imprison-

ment of Jonathan Walker, for that alleged offence by national authority in Florida, as a flagrant violation of the Constitution and a gross indignity, not only to the State of Massachusetts, but to the people of all the States.

10. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Convention, the proper course for a Free State to adopt, when her citizens are ignominiously and unconstitutionally imprisoned in or expelled from the territory of another State in the Union, is, to demand of the National Government the enactment and enforcement of proper laws to secure her citizens in the enjoyment of their violated rights, and, failing compliance with such demand, to protect her citizens herself.

11. *Resolved*, That we are not indifferent to questions of trade or currency, or extension of territory, or to any other questions relating to the prosperity and advancement of the country; but we have no doubt that those who are willing to subordinate these questions to the great question of Personal Rights, will be able, wherever they become responsible by the possession of power, to adjust these matters upon a satisfactory basis: in the meantime, if we differ somewhat among ourselves as to these questions, we have the consolation of knowing that the members of no other party are entirely agreed upon them.

12. *Resolved*, That we revere the memory of THOMAS MORRIS, who preferred his country to his party, and was willing to sacrifice his political position rather than renounce his political principles: his manly and noble protest against the doctrines of slavery, when strongly urged by the great Whig Leader, remains an illustrious monument of his devotion to Truth and Duty and Freedom.

(The Convention adopted this resolution by a rising vote, as a reverential tribute to the memory of the honored dead.)

13. *Resolved*, That we do not understand the Liberty Party to be a sectional but a National Party; the presence and co-operation of free men of the slave States assures us that the Principles of Liberty are traveling south of Mason & Dixon's line, and give us good hope that they will be, ere long, established in purity and vigor on the Gulf of Mexico.

After a song from Mr. Clarke the Convention adjourned.

Afternoon Session.

Mr. Needham, of Kentucky, moved a reconsideration of the ninth resolution and expressed his conviction that its language would be misapprehended and misrepresented by the people of his State and of the South generally, and thus result in injury to emancipation. He said one of the greatest causes of irritation to the slaveholders of Kentucky was, the escape of their slaves, which was constantly taking place, aided as they supposed, by the abolitionists of the free States; and if he and his colleagues were to be considered as approving of the practice of enticing slaves away from their masters, a great obstacle would be thrown in the way of their further progress.

Mr. Fee of the same State, followed and expressed similar sentiments.

After a friendly interchange of views on the part of several members of the Convention, in which the true import of the resolution was

explained, Mr. Needham withdrew his motion.

Mr. Coddington, of Ill., then addressed the Convention in a very eloquent manner, after which the colored children of the Cincinnati High School, under the direction of Mr. Colburn, sang several songs from Clarke's Liberty Minstrel, much to the gratification of the audience.

Mr. Wills from the committee to report a Constitution for the Mississippi Valley Anti-Slavery Society, reported against the propriety of forming such a Society at this time, but recommended instead the appointment by the President of a Committee of Correspondence, to consist of five members, whose duty it shall be to conduct a correspondence with anti-slavery men abroad, as to the best means of promoting our enterprise, and especially to consult as to the propriety of calling a Convention of the friends of emancipation in the South and West, to be held at some proper place on the 17th of June, 1846, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill.

The chair appointed the following gentlemen the committee—S. P. Chase, Samuel Lewis, W. H. Brisbane, Wm. Birney, G. Bailey Jr.

The following resolutions were reported from the Committee on Resolutions, and unanimously adopted.

1. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Trustees and congregation of this church, for the use of its large and commodious house for its sessions.

2. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the people of Cincinnati, for the kind and liberal hospitality extended to its members.

3. *Resolved*, That this Convention will hail with satisfaction the establishment of a Monthly Free Review, which shall be devoted so far as its political department is concerned to the advancement of the cause of Freedom and Free Labor.

Rev. Mr. Gilmer presented to the Convention some statements, respecting the suffering condition of the wife and family of the Rev. J. B. Mahan, deceased. The Rev. Mr. Chase also made a warm appeal in their behalf, when contributions were freely made on the spot for their benefit.

On motion of Dr. Bailey, the proceedings, addresses and resolutions were ordered to be published in all the city papers, who will admit them in their columns, and in pamphlet form to the extent of the means collected. The letter of Elihu Burritt, with such other letters and extracts of letters as the Committee on publication might select, were also ordered to be published in the pamphlet edition.

Dr. Bailey and Mr. Sperry were appointed a committee of publication.

Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania, offered a resolution recommending the holding of an Anti-Slavery Convention in Washington City on the first Monday in May, 1846, which resolution was referred to the Committee on Correspondence, with directions to ascertain by corresponding, what are the views of anti-slavery men in the West and South-West as to the expediency and most suitable time for holding such convention.

Mr. Clark then sang the Yankee Girl, which was received with great applause, after which the Convention adjourned to 8 o'clock P. M.

Evening Session.

Mr. Chase introduced the following resolution, which after a fervent address from Rev. Owen Lovejoy, the brother of the martyr, was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we cherish with reverential affection the memory of Elijah P. Lovejoy, a Martyr of Liberty; but, while we mourn his loss, we rejoice in the proofs spread out over the land, that though dead, he yet speaks by his words and his example, to the hearts of the American People.

Edward Smith of Pennsylvania, and John Pierpont of Massachusetts, then addressed the Convention, and were followed with songs by Dr. Ackley of Indiana, and George W. Clarke. After which the benediction was pronounced

by Rev. Owen Lovejoy, and the Convention adjourned finally.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, *President*,

S. C. STEVENS,
S. E. GIFFEN,
H. MENDENHALL,
J. G. FEE,
J. CODDING,
A. L. BARBER,
O. LOVEJOY,
J. H. DICKEY,
R. HANNA,
E. NEEDHAM,
S. S. HARDINGE,
J. KEEP,
T. MILLER,
D. CRAIG,
S. LEWIS, *Vice-Presidents*,

T. HEATON,
M. R. HULL,
R. ERMETT, *Secretaries*.

LETTERS TO THE CONVENTION.

Elihu Burritts Letter.

WORCESTER, May 23d, 1845.

My Dear Sir:—I am almost at a loss for language to express my sense of obligation to you, and the Committee in whose behalf you speak, for those terms of kindness and confidence with which you invite me to be present at your great Convention in Cincinnati, on the 11th of June. And it is with a profound sentiment of regret that I am compelled, by circumstances which I cannot bend to my wish, to forego a pleasure which I should have cherished during the remainder of my life, as one of the choicest souvenirs in the jewelry of my remembrance. It is with great difficulty that I can so arrange my labors as to permit me to be absent from Worcester a fortnight at a time. Still I have longed to see your great and prosperous State; and when, a few weeks before I received your communication, a letter came from certain literary societies connected with the Oberlin Institute, inviting me to deliver their next annual address, in August, I accepted the invitation, that I might associate with my visit some other object than that of mere curiosity. To fulfil this engagement will exhaust all the time that I can force out of the discharge of my labors at home, which would preclude the possibility of making two journeys to Ohio in one season. Although I cannot be with you in person—or rather in body—I shall be present with every earnest sympathy of my soul, with every attribute of my humanity that can pray and hope for man, and labor to lift up my down-trodden brother the SLAVE—God's child, to a new life and the light of a new heaven for his downcast alienated heart, a heaven spanned with God's own handwriting in the fixed stars and every rainbow of hope, that his Ethiopian hue shall no longer impair the dignity of his humanity or his title or access to all the privileges, progress and prospects of the children of a common Father, either on earth or in heaven. The place, the motives and the members of your Convention, will all conspire to give it a moral might and majesty, which will be felt over the Union, and carry a premonition of death to an institution which, like a huge deep-rooted upas, has diffused its

subtle poison over the once greenest portion of this continent, until every thing that lives or lies beneath its shade bears the hectic of the searing curse.

No place in the Union could have been more appropriately selected than Cincinnati. Situated on the heaven side of freedom, a magnificent illustration of what it can do for human nature and human society, well might it say to those who live in the pale and sickly wilderness of slavery, "*Come, and let us reason together.*" And it should quicken the pulse of great-hearted patriotism, that this friendly call has been greeted by a cordial response from the first home of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent—from unfortunate Virginia, the primeval Eden of Nature in America, now pining beneath the breath of an institution which has blasted the foliage and the fruit of her tree of knowledge, and her tree of life; and which, if it has not banished her into the wilderness without, has brought the wilderness into her paradise. Virginia! oldest patriarch in the ark of Freedom which outrode the universal deluge of despotism—among the first altars it erected in its heritage, was one for the sacrifice of humanity and the immolation of human liberty. First to declare the inalienable rights of man, and, like the antediluvian patriarch, to preach the righteousness of freedom to the world, it was the first to become intoxicated with the spirit of its domestic slavery, and, under its influence, to curse its posterity with an evil which has operated with unspent and unsparing malignity upon young and old, rich and poor, bond and free, through their successive generations. Virginia! still venerable in her misfortunes and grand in her decadence, the devout and filial memories which cluster about her ancient virtues, like the pious sons of Noah, would approach her behind a mantle of charity which should hide from the subject and object of the sorrowful vision, the sight of her unconscious weakness and insensible prostration.

And old Virginia, the Virginia of the best days of our history, will be with you, represented by a few choice spirits, who, with the sublime chivalry of moral heroism, the offspring and origin of better things in her condition, will go up to your communion, as the estranged

and scattered children of Israel went up from their coasts to worship with their Jewish brethren in the temple at Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah. And between that ancient jubilee and your Convention, I pray that there may be features of resemblance to which future generations shall revert in grateful memory. If there is one thing more than another, which would enhance my pleasure in being present on the occasion, it would be the privilege of meeting there those heroic spirits from Virginia. Above all the places on earth, I should prefer to give them the warm hand of fraternal fellowship on the green banks of the Ohio. There, in view of the luxuriant fields and all the verdant life of your illimited Eden, I would hold with them a brotherly communion on the gospel of nature and the great principles of humanity. While a beautiful world of exuberant fertility expanded to their view beneath the heaven-blessed labor of free hands, and cities and villages, buoyant with the vigor of youthful activity, vied with vegetation in rapidity of growth—I would remind them, with earnest tenderness, that the rain, the dew and the sunlight fell upon the fields of Virginia with the same richness of beneficence as upon those of Ohio: that nature had lavished upon the "Old Dominion" all that she could do for her choicest vineyard, and never withheld a gift that could make it the garden and glory of America. I would say to them, that if the recent wildness of your state has been made to blossom as the rose, it is an evidence, bearing the signature of the Almighty, that no slave breathes its pure air or treads its free soil; that in it and on it all men are born FREE and EQUAL, inheriting and enriching all those "inalienable rights" laid down in that Magna Charta of democracy which bears the broad seal of Virginia in the blood of her patriots. I would say to them, that all the difference, in condition and prospects, between Ohio and Virginia exists in the difference of their devotion to that sublime dogma of democracy which stands at the head of the Declaration of our Independence; and that if the mother of the Union, among all the children she has brought up, has none left to guide her; if her walls are broken down and her fields laid waste; if the music of machinery never breaks the silence of her streams, and degraded labor has no songs in the night or the day; if her children fly from her bosom to regions where honest toil is not the condition of the slave, it is because she has not been true to that great doctrine of human rights which she was the first to proclaim to mankind. I would give them the brotherly hand of every liberty-loving son of toil in New England in pledge, that their hatred of slavery is the strongest expression of their love for Virginia; that no malevolence lurks at the bottom of this great enterprise of freedom, in which the moral sentiment of the world is fast concentrating with an energy which must soon carry it to that issue which shall be greeted with acclamations of *grace! grace unto it!* from every corner of the world. Brethren, I would say, not an effort in this cause is inspired by aught else than the very soul of love to you and your children. The malevolence of which we have been suspected, has this extent, no more: that Emancipation shall be Paradise Regained to Virginia, in all the compass of that condition.

It is one of the chiefest aims of our aspira-

tions and efforts, not only to promote the emancipation of the slave, but to emancipate the "Old Dominion" from the old dominion of slavery; to emancipate her institutions of learning and religion from an influence that has poisoned their vitality; to emancipate the energies of her people from that crippling compression which has bent them to the ground; to emancipate her rivers and streams, whose currents have been ice-bound in time of summer, because the mark of the beast was burnt and burning in the brow of labor pining on their banks; to emancipate her soil from that sallow disease with which the sweat of the slave—falling on its face like *aqua fortis*—has devoured its capacity of production; to emancipate the treasures that lie locked and guarded by a huge Cerberus, in her mountains, valleys, and hill-sides; to emancipate nature itself from that iron prevention which has withheld her hand from dropping fatness upon every square acre of her territory. If this is malevolence, it is not the head, nor front, nor end of our offending. To say, that, in rescuing Virginia from slavery, we would be content with making her what New England is, comes far short of our object and desire. We would make her what New England *would be*, with the soil, rivers, and streams, and natural resources of Virginia; which, with the indomitable genius and energy of free labor, would enable her to manufacture for a continent and feed half of its population with the productions of her soil. Has she annually expatriated thousands of her most vigorous sons, who could not toil where labor is degraded; we would re-people her borders with her exiles, who should return with songs of joy on their heads, as the ancient Jews to their beloved Canaan. Are her lands lying waste in artificial sterility, we would resuscitate them to all their original fertility, and cut them up into farms clothed with exuberant verdure, and tilled by intelligent and virtuous freemen. "*Is one in twelve of her grown up and governing population unable to read or write,*" we would dot the whole extent of her domain with school-houses, and supply every hamlet with a library and the means of gratuitous instruction. Is Virginia declining in political power, and fast losing her share of influence in the councils of the nation, we would give her far more than she ever possessed. We would double her representation in the representatives of freemen in our national Congress, who should be an honor to the country. With such an aim and end as this, in the inception, prosecution, and issue of this great work of philanthropy, shall we talk of *dissolving the Union?*—that Union to which the success of our efforts must give elements of cohesion stronger than ten thousand chains of adamant?—that Union, the concentrating nucleus of the hopes and interests of the future ages of humanity?—that Union to which the abolition of slavery would give a moral power that should lift up the race from its darkness and depression? Dissolution of the Union?—What! cut in two the Mississippi, that jugular vein of the New World, and sever all the mighty arteries of the Union, and leave it to bleed to death in hostile segments, both writhing in the cauteries of mutual hatred! Nature itself would repel this profane disruption of a system to whose integrity every stream from the Sabine to the St. Johns, is as necessary as

any vein in the human body. Dissolve the Union! run the amputating knife through the child of all that the progressive ages of humanity have produced of freedom and virtue! and that because one of its members is infected with a cutaneous disease, which not a drop of blood less than that which now circulates in its whole system will remove! Does God or mankind require the sacrifice of this Union, this ISAAC of the race, in which all nations should be blessed? And shall Americans lift the knife against it, not as an act of faith, but of pusillanimous distrust in God? If nothing in the natural religion of patriotism could stay their suicidal arm; let every lover of his kind pray that the Almighty who arrested the patriarch's descending blow which was to sever his son, may open the cloudy curtain of his pavilion, and interpose a cheaper victim of immolation; or that might

"Come thick night,
And pall it in the dunest smoke of hell,
That its keen knife see not the wound it makes,
Or heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry Hold! Hold!"

Dissolve the Union! dissolve the whole moral power we have and need to abolish slavery! May God grant that your Convention may banish that treacherous idea from every American heart. I trust that its Satanic lineaments will be detected and detested, should it surreptitiously enter your councils in the guise of an angel of light. No! you will not meet to *dissolve*, but to *evolve* the Union; to renovate it on the basis of the fathers of the Republic.—That basis is broad and deep enough to *unite* the world. A better foundation cannot be laid by fallen men. You will meet as our fathers met, you will begin where they begun, and where their degenerate children left off to build. You will meet, TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, *establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.* This is the work you will *unite* to resume. This is the foundation to which you will descend to lay the first stone that has been laid therein since our "fathers fell asleep." As the nations round about Judea contributed materials to the erection of Solomon's Temple, so the world, with all its moral wealth, will become tributary to the structure of the Great American Temple of Liberty, founded on such a rock, and hail its completion as the asylum and admiration of the race. The Union! it is worth the world to the destiny of human nature for the abolition of slavery; and the abolition of slavery will add the wealth and moral power of the world to the Union.—May we speak of the *value* of salvation, and the *extent* of infinity, then, for lack of a more religious term, let me express the hope and belief that your Convention will enhance the *value*, because it shall increase the strength and vitality of the Union. In that hope-inspired imagination with which I am wont to contemplate the destiny of the American Republic, I have fancied that, in the life-time of the present age, some heaven-kissing monument, the offspring of the 11th of June, might be erected from the bed of the Ohio, opposite your city, as a kind of centri-mundane column, saying to all things that shine and sing in heaven, and all that can carry the news on the wings of the

wind; saying to all ages, to all men, to all bondmen groaning in the undiscovered habitations of cruelty:

"I stand the plan's proud period;
I pronounce the work accomplished," the warfare closed, the victory won, the TRIUMPH OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

Please, Sir, to accept for yourself, and tender to the other members of your committee the profound sentiments of respect and sympathy with which I am theirs and yours for humanity,

ELIHU BURRITT.

SAMUEL LEWIS ESQ. of Com., &c.

Wm. H. Seward's Letter.

AUBURN, May 26th, 1845.

Gentlemen,—Your letter of the 19th of April, inviting me to a "Southern and Western Convention of the Friends of Constitutional Liberty, at Cincinnati," has been received. You inform me that the Convention will not be composed exclusively of members of the Liberty Party, but will be open "to all who are resolved to use every constitutional and honorable means to effect the extinction of Slavery in their respective States and its reduction to its constitutional limits in the United States."

I am profoundly sensible of the honor thus conferred upon me. But uncontrollable circumstances concurring with my own disposition, oblige me to avoid the political arena and devote myself assiduously to professional pursuits. If I could at all attend a Convention so distant, I should not stop to inquire of whom it was composed. It would be enough that its design was to promote the abolition of Slavery, an object whose importance is paramount to that of every other which engages or can engage the consideration of the American people.

Permit me, with the utmost deference, to express a hope that the deliberations of the Convention may be conducted in a spirit of wise and enlightened moderation. I have always sympathized with Abolitionists too deeply to be one of those who hindered or embarrassed them, by complaining of their intemperate zeal and exposing the injudiciousness of their measures. But the cause of Emancipation has now reached an interesting crisis. The sentiment of justice to the African race has at length become a political element too important to be overlooked or disregarded by either of the great political parties. The expediency of practical Emancipation is directly discussed in one slave State, and thousands are prepared for it in other States where the institution has seemed impregnable. Its advocates fail to convince the people that it is a humane, or a necessary, or even a harmless anomaly in our constitution. Nevertheless popular action is checked by alarms concerning the threatened dangers of Emancipation, Civil Wars, and Dissolution of the Union. We live in an age when the pacific influences of Christianity are widely diffused, and we shrink from prosecuting even the most benevolent designs if they seem to involve the calamities of war. If we analyse the national passion of patriotism, we shall find it to consist chiefly in veneration for the Constitution, and devotion to the Union of the States. At the same time the seeming indifference of the

people concerning the guilt and danger of Slavery has been so irksome to the impetuous, that many who have been esteemed wise and patriotic citizens, have come to treat of disunion, as if it were preferable to further forbearance, or were in some way involved in the success of abolition. I trust that such sentiments will be discarded. Whatever hopes may be indulged by those who permit themselves to speculate concerning secession or nullification, we have enjoyed more abounding national prosperity, more perfect political and social equality, and more precious civil and religious liberty, by, through and with our present constitution, than were ever before secured by any people. We cannot know what portion of these blessings would be lost by dissolving the present fabric and constructing another or others in its place. Heaven forbid that we should even contemplate the experiment.

Prudence in regard to the cause of Emancipation forbids the indulgence of a thought of Disunion. If it be so confessedly difficult to awake the national conscience while the patriotism of Abolitionists cannot be justly questioned, it would be ruinous to suffer so noble an enterprise to be at all connected with designs which however they may be excused or palliated, must nevertheless be seditious and treasonable.

I grant that the annexation of Texas, through the failure of concert among the opponents of Slavery, vastly increases the difficulty of Emancipation. But still I trust that if that great enterprise be conducted with discretion, it will advance faster than the population and political influence of the new Territory. The slaveholders have enlarged the domain of our country. Let this untoward event only excite us the more. Let us rouse ourselves to the necessary effort and enlarge indeed the "Area of Freedom."

Men differ much in temperament and susceptibility, and are so variously situated that they receive from the same causes very unequal impressions. It is not in human nature that all who desire the abolition of Slavery should be inflamed with equal zeal, and different degrees of fervor produce different opinions concerning the measures proper to be adopted. Great caution is necessary therefore to preserve mutual confidence and harmony. No cause however just, can flourish without these. Christian Europe lost the Holy Sepulchre, which had cost so many sacrifices, less by the bravery of the Saracens, than by the mutual controversies of the Crusaders. The Protestant Reformation was arrested two hundred years ago, by the distraction of the Reformers and not a furlong's breadth has since been gained from the Papal Hierarchy.

I am far from denying that any class of Abolitionists has done much good, for their common cause, but I think the whole result has been much diminished by the angry conflicts between them, often on mere metaphysical questions. I sincerely hope that these conflicts may now cease. Emancipation is now a political enterprise, to be effected through the consent and action of the American people. They will lend no countenance or favor to any other than lawful and constitutional means.—Nor is the range of our efforts narrowly circumscribed by the Constitution.

In many of the free States there is a large

mass of citizens disfranchised on the ground of color. They must be invested with the right of suffrage. Give them this right, and their influence will be immediately felt in the National Councils, and it is needless to say will be cast in favor of those who uphold the cause of Human Liberty. We must resist unceasingly the admission of slave States, and urge and demand the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. We have secured the right of Petition, but the Federal Government continues to be swerved by the influences of Slavery as before. This tendency can and must be counteracted; and when one independent Congress shall have been elected the internal Slave Trade will be subjected to inquiry. Amendments to the Constitution may be initiated and the obstacles in the way of Emancipation will no longer appear insurmountable.

But, Gentlemen, I fear I may appear to dogmatize when I only intended to invoke concession. If I seem to do so too earnestly, it is because I feel so deeply interested in the cause to which your efforts are devoted, and because I believe with Burke, "that we ought to act in political affairs with all the moderation which does not absolutely enervate that vigor, and quench that fervency of spirit, without which the best wishes for the public good must evaporate in empty speculation."

I am gentlemen, very respectfully your humble servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

To S. P. Chase, Samuel Lewis, R. B. Pullan, W. Birney, Owen Owens, *Committee.*

William Jay's Letter.

BEDFORD, 30th April, 1845.

My Dear Sir:—

I have had the honor of receiving through you an invitation from the Committee of Arrangements, to attend "the Southern and Western Convention of the friends of constitutional liberty," to be held in Cincinnati, the 11th of June.

Please to present to the committee my acknowledgments for the favor they have done me, and to assure them of the very great satisfaction it would afford me to accept their invitation.

Various circumstances combine in conferring peculiar importance on the approaching convention. To me, the present appears the most momentous crisis that has yet occurred in the history of our country, since the establishment of the federal government. Probably the freedom, happiness and continuance of our Union will depend on the events of the next twelve months. The convention is to be held in Cincinnati, and its deliberations will be more or less influenced by the Abolitionists of Ohio.—Those Abolitionists, as far as my observation extends, yield to no portion of their brethren, in other States, in sound principle, and in that inflexible perseverance which is more generally found in union with calm conscientious conviction, than with extravagant and impassioned zeal. Hence, I flatter myself that the proceedings of the convention will be characterized, not by intemperate declamation and impracticable resolves, but by the discretion and firmness becoming men who feel that the dearest interests of themselves and their posterity are in jeopardy.

Were it in my power, I would deem it both a privilege and a duty to attend the convention. But an engagement of a public nature, and one long since made, requires me to be in Boston the last of May, and I fear it will be impossible for me to reach Cincinnati by the 11th of June.

May the Divine wisdom direct, and the Divine blessing attend the counsels of the convention.

I remain, my dear sir,

Yours, very cordially and respectfully,
WILLIAM JAY.

S. P. CHASE, Esq.

Cassius M. Clay's Letter.

LEXINGTON, May 15th, 1845.

Messrs. S. P. Chase and others, Committee, &c:

GENTLEMEN—I have some time since received your letter of the 21st ult., inviting me to attend a Convention, to be held in Cincinnati, on the 11th day of June next, of "all who, believing that whatever is worth preserving in Republicanism, can be maintained only by eternal and uncompromising war upon the criminal usurpations of the slave power, are resolved to use all constitutional and honorable means to effect the extinction of slavery in their respective States, and its reduction to its constitutional limits in the United States." I have held your invitation under respectful consideration, and whilst I appreciate your kindness, and should be gratified to meet you personally in council, I must beg leave to decline being present on that occasion. The language used by you is my own: it was written on the event of the gross usurpation, by the two houses of Congress, of the treaty making power, which is vested by the Constitution exclusively in the Senate, representing in action two-thirds of the sovereign States of the Republic, instead of mere majorities of quorums in each house; and this too, with the avowed purpose of adding *slave* territory to this Union, by which you and I were to be deprived yet more and more of our equal right of representation in our own government. But this language also applies to a systematic design on the part of the slave party, relentlessly pursued from the formation of the Union to the present hour, to subject the free labor of this country to the slave labor, and to make the freeman of the republic tributary to the slaveholders of the country—the slaves of slaves, by suppressing the right of petition, trial by jury, liberty of speech, freedom of the press, and the right of habeas corpus. In view of all which despotic acts, (I speak *not* now of the right, political or natural, of the sovereign States by municipal law to hold the African, or any other race, in Slavery; with that, as a politician, I disclaim having anything to do,) I have not scrupled to denounce them as "the criminal usurpations of the slave power." I declare once more that I shall never cease to oppose them "by speech, by the pen, by the press, and by the ballot." I go for vindicating all these rights, by re-establishing the broken Constitution, and by eradicating the root of the evil so far as I have legal power. I am for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, by paying the masters an equivalent—for enforcing the habeas corpus in all the territories and in all places of exclusive national jurisdiction—for the total abolition of all the slave clauses in the National Constitution, so

soon as it can be done by the ballot box. The Constitution and laws of the land are binding on me so long as they exist; but I utterly deny that there is, or ever was, or ever was "*meant*" to be, any "*compromise*" by which my ancestors agreed that I should be enslaved any longer than the ballot, in its omnipotence, could strike off my fetters, and restore me to that political equality which, in an evil hour, they deemed themselves necessitated to put in temporary abeyance.

Here then is my ground. It is broad enough for all parties, and to whoever takes it, I give the right hand of fellowship, under whatever party organization he may bearrayed. In the meantime, I abide the destiny of that party in which I have grown to manhood, until some other, numbering more friends of liberty than we, shall give indication of more speedy success.—I claim to be a Whig because I stand upon the same ground of the illustrious declarators of '76. If the New York Courier and Enquirer and others like not the principles of these men, let them yield the name also. If they are the friends of prerogative, the abettors of the violation of the Constitution, the lovers of despotism, the advocates of political inequality; if they are "*conservatives*" only by basely submitting to see every principle of human liberty trampled under foot by the slave power, then let them strike their colors and go over to the enemy! But as for my single self, while there is a banner flying, soiled and torn and trampled though it be, by an unthinking and infatuated multitude, yet indelibly inscribed with the faith of the illustrious dead and living, "Political equality, untrammelled social progress, liberty and union, now and forever;" there still rallying would I be found, with an unconquerable spirit; whether overwhelmed by numbers or borne down by superior force, ever ready to sacrifice all things but honor and the right, those ennobling elements of self-elevation and unflinching security, which are no more when liberty is lost.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
C. M. CLAY.

Horace Greeley's Letter.

NEW YORK, June 3d, 1845.

DEAR SIR: I received, weeks since, your letter inviting me to be present at a general Convention of opponents of Human Slavery, irrespective of past differences and party organizations. I have delayed till the last moment my answer, hoping I might this season indulge a long cherished desire and purpose by visiting your section and city, in which case I should certainly have attended your Convention. Being now reluctantly compelled to forego or indefinitely postpone that visit, I have no recourse but to acknowledge your courtesy in a letter.

In saying that I should have attended your Convention, had I been able to visit Cincinnati this month, I would by no means be understood as implying that I would have claimed to share in its deliberations; still less that I should have been likely to unite in the course of action to which these deliberations will probably tend. Whether there "can true reconciliation grow" between those opponents of Slavery whom the late Presidential Election arrayed against each other in desperate conflict, I do not venture to

predict. Most surely that large portion of them, with whom I acted, and still act, have been confirmed in our previous convictions of duty by the result of that election, and by the momentous consequences which it has drawn after it. Not merely with regard to this question of Slavery, but to all questions, I have by that result been warned against pledging myself to any special and isolated reform in such manner as to interfere with and fetter my freedom and ability to act decisively and effectively upon more general and immediately practical considerations of National interest and human well-being. You and yours, I understand, have been confirmed in an opposite conviction.—Time must decide on which side is the right.

But while I cannot hope that I should have been able to unite with you upon any definitive course of action to be henceforth pursued by all opponents of Slavery, irrespective of past or present differences, I should have gladly met you, conferred with you, compared opinions, and agreed to act together so far as joint action is not forbidden by conflicting opinions. Animated by this spirit, I shall venture to set before you, and ask the Convention to consider, some views which I deem essential as bearing on the present condition and ultimate success of the Anti-Slavery movement.

What is Slavery? You will probably answer, "The legal subjection of one human being to the will and power of another." But this definition appears to me inaccurate on both sides—too broad, and at the same time too narrow. It is too broad, in that it includes the subjection founded in the parental and similar relations; too narrow, in that it excludes the subjection founded in other necessities not less stringent than those imposed by statute. We must seek some truer definition.

I understand by Slavery, that condition in which one human being exists mainly as a convenience for other human beings, in which the time, the exertions, the faculties of a part of the Human Family are made to subservise, not their own development, physical, intellectual and moral, but the comfort, advantage or caprices of others. In short, wherever service is rendered from one human being to another, on a footing of one-sided and not of mutual obligation—when the relation between the servant and the served is one not of affection and reciprocal good offices, but of authority, social ascendancy and power over subsistence on the one hand, and of necessity, servility and degradation on the other—there, in my view, is Slavery.

You will readily understand, therefore, that, if I regard your enterprise with less absorbing interest than you do, it is not that I deem Slavery a less, but a greater evil. If I am less troubled concerning the Slavery prevalent in Charleston or New Orleans, it is because I see so much Slavery in New York, which appears to claim my first efforts. I rejoice in believing that there is less of it in your several communities and neighborhoods; but that it does exist there I am compelled to believe. In esteeming it my duty to preach Reform first to my own neighbors and kindred, I would by no means attempt to censure those whose consciences prescribe a different course. Still less would I undertake to say that the Slavery of the South is not more hideous in kind and degree than that which prevails at the North.—

The fact that it is more flagrant and palpable, renders opposition to it comparatively easy, and its speedy downfall certain. But how can I devote myself to a crusade against distant servitude, when I discern its essence pervading my immediate community and neighborhood? nay, when I have not yet succeeded in banishing it even from my own humble household.—Wherever may lie the sphere of duty of others, is not mine obviously *here*?

Let me restate what I conceive to be essential characteristics of Human Slavery:

1. Wherever certain human beings devote their time and thoughts mainly to obeying and serving other human beings, and this not because they choose to do so, but because they *must*, there (I think) is Slavery.

2. Wherever human beings exist in such relations that a part, because of the position they occupy and the functions they perform, are generally considered an inferior class to those who perform other functions, or none, there (I think) is Slavery.

3. Wherever the ownership of the soil is so engrossed by a small part of the community, that the far larger number are compelled to pay whatever the few may see fit to exact for the privilege of occupying and cultivating the earth, there is something very like Slavery.—[I rejoice that this state of things does not, as yet, exist in our country.]

4. Wherever opportunity to labor is obtained with difficulty, and is so deficient that the employing class may virtually prescribe their own terms, and pay the laborer only such share as they choose of the product, there is a very strong tendency to Slavery.

5. Wherever it is deemed more reputable to live without labor than by labor, so that a gentleman would rather be ashamed of his descent from a blacksmith, than from an idler or mere pleasure-seeker, there is a community not very far from Slavery. And,

6. Wherever one human being deems it honorable and right to have other human beings mainly devoted to his or her convenience or comfort, and thus to live, directing the labor of these persons from all productive or general usefulness to his or her own special uses, while he or she is rendering or has rendered no corresponding service to the cause of human well-being, there exists the spirit which originated and still sustains Human Slavery.

I might multiply these illustrations indefinitely, but I dare not so trespass on your patience. Rather allow me to apply the principles here evolved, in illustration of what I deem the duty and policy of Abolitionists in reference to their cause. And here I would advise—

1. *Oppose Slavery in ALL its forms.* Be at least as careful not to be a slaveholder as not to vote for one. Be as tenacious that your own wives, children, hired men and women, tenants, &c. enjoy the blessings of rational liberty, as the slaves of South Carolina.

2. *Be at least as ardent in opposing the near as the distant forms of Oppression.* It was by beginning at home that charity was enabled to perform such long journeys, even before the construction of rail-roads. And it does seem clear to my mind, that if the advocates of Emancipation would unite in well directed, persistent efforts to improve the condition of the blacks in their own States and neighbor-

hoods respectively, they could hardly fail to advance their cause more rapidly and surely than by any other course. Suppose, for example, they were to resolve in each State to devote their political energies in the first place to a removal of the shameful, atrocious civil disabilities and degradations under which the African race now generally labor, and to this end were to vote systematically for such candidates, whom their votes could probably elect, (if such there were,) as were known to favor the removal of those disabilities, would not their success be sure and speedy? But

3. *Look well to the Moral and Social condition of the Blacks in the free States.* Here is the refuge of the conscientious slaveholder. He declines emancipating, because he cannot perceive that emancipation has thus far conduced to the benefit of the liberated. If the mass of the blacks are to remain ignorant, destitute, unprincipled, degraded, (as he is told the Free Blacks are,) he thinks it better that his should remain Slaves.

I know that the degradation of the Blacks is exaggerated. I know that so much of it as exists, is mainly owing to their past and present wrongs. But I feel also that the process of overcoming this debasement must be slow and dubious, while its causes continue to exist. I entreat, therefore, that those who have the care of these children of Africa and of their philanthropic friends, shall consider the propriety of providing for them cities of refuge, townships—communities, I would say—wherein they may dwell apart from the mass of our people, in a social atmosphere of their own, not poisoned by the universal conviction of their inferiority, at least until they have had a chance to show whether they are or are not necessarily idle, thriftless, vicious, and content with degradation. I most earnestly believe the popular assumptions on these points erroneous; I ask that the Blacks have a fair chance to prove them so. A single township in each free State, mainly peopled by them, with churches, schools, seminaries for scientific and classical education, and all social influences untainted by the sense of African humiliation, would do more, (if successful, as I doubt not,) to pave the way for Universal Freedom, than realms of angry vituperation against slaveholders. These are in good part men of integrity and conscience; they see the wrong almost as clearly as you do: it is the *right* which they should see and cannot: will you enable them to see it?

Yours respectfully,

HORACE GREELEY.

Extracts from William Goodell's Letter.

HONEYE, ONTARIO CO., N. Y., May 1, 1845.

"Have we not, in common with the rest of our fellow-citizens, greatly erred in admitting the legality and constitutionality of slavery, in any portion of the United States. To our Ohio brethren we have been indebted for some sound views (as we think them to be) concerning the utter illegality of that slavery which exists not only in the District of Columbia, but in Florida, and in the States formed out of the territory included in the Louisiana purchase. As the laws by which slaves were held in that extensive region ceased to be valid the moment that territory came into the possession of the

Federal Government and under its jurisdiction, and as the Federal Government possessed no power to *create* slavery there, it is manifest that slavery has been illegal there ever since, and can no more be made legal than it can in the States formed out of the North West Territory.

"And how is it in regard to slavery in the *original thirteen States*? It was judicially decided, long ago, by the Courts of Massachusetts, (and *without* any legislative enactments abolishing slavery in that State,) that slaves could not be legally held there. And this decision is believed to have been made either on the ground that the decision of the Somerset case, in England, by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, in 1772, rendered slavery illegal throughout the then colonies of Great Britain, or on the ground of the Declaration of Massachusetts, "*that all men are born equal*," &c. &c. On either of these grounds, what becomes of the legality of slavery in any one of the original thirteen States? In the very act of declaring themselves Independent States, they enunciated, as *self-evident*, the principles by which the legality of slavery is *denied*. Whether the Declaration of Independence should be regarded as the *separate* act of the thirteen States, or (which seems to be the fact) the confederate act of "*United States*," the result on this question remains the same. If each *separate* State is to be regarded as having made this *separate* declaration of self-evident truths, then, certainly, there can be no complaint that it was imposed upon the Southern States by the overbearing power of the North. But if the Declaration was that of "*United States*," then it formed, and *still* forms, the very basis of American Constitutional law. In either case the document has never been repealed nor repudiated by a single State in this Union, and *stands in full force*. High legal authorities may be cited for the opinion that it is paramount to all American Constitutions and laws.

"The preamble of the Federal Constitution itself, is scarcely less explicit and emphatic." * * * * "Then follow the *inhibitions* to the several States: 'No State shall pass any *bills of attainder*, or laws impairing the *obligation of contracts*.' What becomes of slavery without the attainder of blood? Allow the laboring population of the South the validity of their contracts, (including the contract of marriage,) and what becomes of the slave system? And besides, 'The United States shall guaranty to each State in this Union a *Republican form of government*.' And what is a Republican form of government? If the definitions of Thomas Jefferson and of Mr. Madison, in the 'Federalist,' can supply us with the meaning of the terms, then *no slaveholding State* can be a *Republic*. And if this be not sufficient, look at the *amendments* which modify or annul, of necessity, whatever in the original instrument might conflict with it. Like the *codicil* to a will, the *amendment* must stand, whatever becomes of the first written. The *codicil* runs thus:—'No person shall be deprived of—*liberty*, without *due process of law*.'

"It is common enough to say that slavery is a '*violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution*.' This is said by many who do not seem to reflect that this is only saying in other words that *Slavery is unconstitutional—illegal*."

* * * * "Another subject, of no small interest, at the present juncture, respects the

policy to be connected with the political party that asks the public support, on the ground, mainly, of its uncompromising hostility to the slave system." * * * *

"*Monopolies—class legislations* of all sorts—*expedients* as substitutes for the *fixed laws* of the commercial world, as God made them, and as nature reveals them—what shall the friends of human liberty say of these things? And what shall they do? Shall they court the alliance and foster the power of a growing and rapacious aristocracy at the North, as a means of curbing a rival aristocracy of slaveholders at the South? Shall it invite the working men of the North to aid in that operation? Can it do without their assistance, and thus assent to their '*unnatural alliance*' with the slave power, in self-defence against Northern oppression? Which of the two, the aristocracy or the democracy of the North, the capitalists or the laboring masses, most naturally sympathise with us; and which would be worth most to us in this struggle? Both of them we can hardly expect—nor either of them, to any extent, unless *our position be well defined*. So it seems to me. And I think it evident that these questions must be grappled with and decided in the light of our principles, if we would succeed."

Extract from Thomas Earle's Letter.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 3, 1845.

"I would render a Liberty party democratic: firstly, because democracy is but general consistency with the single principle of opposition to slavery, or rather, it is but opposition to every species of slavery; and secondly, because the support of democracy is the surest and speediest road to success. I would like to see a party even more democratic than that which sustained the administration of Jefferson, and I believe that such a party, with clearly defined principles, would absorb the genuine democratic material from all other parties, and soon become the strongest.

"True democracy embraces three great points or principles: 1. Popular Sovereignty; 2. Equality of Rights; 3. Liberty.

"1. Popular sovereignty can exist only with universal suffrage and short terms of office. All attempts to secure order, tranquility, stability and freedom, from oppression, without the incorporation of these ingredients into the frame of government, have ever proved, and I think ever will prove, abortive. The experience of San Marino, of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and, I believe, some Swiss Cantons, in the use of semi-annual elections, prove that no terms are so short, especially for the Legislature, as to be detrimental, otherwise than by mere inconvenience; while history demonstrates that no land which has established its elections less frequent than annually, has been able long to preserve more of the practical blessings of good government than are enjoyed even under absolute despotism.

"2. Equality of rights will give to all the same privileges, whatever their complexion, their birth place, their descent, their wealth, or their education. If one man is allowed to be a banker, all must be free to become so. If one set of men are permitted to use the facilities of corporate association for business, all

other men must be free to associate for the same purposes and in the same manner.

"3. Liberty—true liberty—embraces not merely the absence of chattel slavery, but of every other restraint not imperiously required by the principles of self-defence, and the palpable necessities of our nature. The majority has the right to judge of its own rightful power, but it has no right, knowingly, to act the tyrant in reference to the minority. It has no right to dictate to the minority what machinery, tools, currency, or mode of business, it shall employ, nor where nor with whom it shall trade, nor what kind of contracts it shall make, any further than may be evidently required in self-defence against fraud or outrage.

"I think public opinion is sufficiently advanced, or in sufficient progress of advancement, to sustain a consistent party, which shall embrace, generally, the foregoing principles, and which, in reference to freedom of trade, shall go so far as to offer to return gradually to mere revenue duties, in reference to all nations which will consent to reciprocate our liberality.

"Opposition to large military and naval forces, to high salaries and to extensive patronage, should constitute a part of the creed of a democratic party, as being essential to the preservation of liberty, and purity of national morality."

Extract from Phineas Crandell's Letter.

WORCESTER, MASS., MAY 29, 1845.

"I shall be present with you in mind and heart. Although for many years I have been at work in the church, for several years I have also been at work out of the church. I find I can no more divest myself of my political responsibilities, than I can of my religious obligation. They are indeed so blended, that it appears impossible to separate them—and especially while such a politically-made enormity as that of slavery exists in the land. Wicked legislation has created and sustains the evil—righteous legislation must destroy it. We shall have less to do in future in the Church, and more to do in the State. The slaveholding portions of the church are either placing the work more beyond our reach, or are indirectly, and without design, doing it themselves. Good men are under an obligation to do what they can for the destruction of the sin of slavery, and when they can do nothing church-wise, and can do something State-wise, they are bound by the most sacred obligations to do it. Christian profession, and ministerial profession, so far from weakening such obligations, go very far to increase and strengthen them. The elective franchise has been entrusted to us by the providence of God, and the God of providence will hold all responsible for its righteous exercise. It is puerile and vain for any one to suppose, than any relation to the church can exonerate him from the discharge of this obligation."

Extract from Dr. J. F. Lemoyne's Letter.

WASHINGTON, PA., MAY 2, 1845.

"If I shall not be with you in person, you will have my sympathy and heart's co-operation in every energetic and wise instrumentality for the redemption of our fellow man from degradation and bonds, and our country from infamy and crime."

Extract from Titus Hutchinson's Letter.

WOODSTOCK, VT., May 2d, 1845.

"On perusing the Whig papers, which abound here, I have speculated some about the course and object of their pursuit. I have proposed for my own consideration the following question. If the 250,000 slaveholders, who rule the political destinies of the United States, should select from among themselves a suitable number of their most sagacious politicians, perfectly devoted to the support of their domestic institutions, and send them to the north to manage and control the political papers, what course would these pursue? To this question I have found myself unable to form but one answer: which is, that they would pursue exactly the same course aimed at by the present editors of the Northern political papers. They would want to keep the free men of the United States divided, nominally, into two great political parties, opposed to each other on as many collateral questions as they could bring to view, yet agreed in the one great object of perpetuating slavery, and denouncing and opposing every movement, and every person, which would operate against slavery. How little do the slaveholders care, how little ought they to care, which of the two parties succeed, when the success of either is the triumph of slavery?"

Extract from Gerrit Smith's Letter.

PETERSBORO, May 1, 1845.

"I look forward with great interest to the proceedings of your Convention. If constitutional and wise, as I doubt not they will be, they will make a great and good impression in Kentucky and Western Virginia."

Extracts from Sam'l Fessenden's Letter.

PORTLAND, ME., June 2, 1845.

"I wish by this communication to assure you, that nothing could be more desirable to me than to attend *that*, which I cannot hesitate to denominate in advance, most *glorious* Convention. For glorious it must be, although it may not be so on account of the *number* who may assemble, though I fondly hope, in that particular, it will far exceed anything which has been witnessed in our slave cursed, but yet dearly beloved country.

"But it is *glorious*, because it will be a Convention assembled to vindicate the honor of God, in sustaining and promoting the cause of humanity, justice and mercy, so openly and unblushingly trampled under foot by the iron heel of the oppressors, and outraged by the accursed system of slavery. *Glorious*, because its object is to wipe from our Holy Religion the foul aspersion, that the slavery which exists, and is sustained in our country, is not inconsistent with *its* precepts and requirements.

Glorious, because, under God, the Principles of the Liberty Party, which will be there advocated, fairly carried out, are the only principles which will save, secure, and perpetuate those free institutions, to obtain which our fathers struggled in the death grapple, and which they fondly hoped would be transmitted to their posterity.

"*Glorious*, on account of the noble hearted men who will be there assembled, to devise the best means to carry forward the great, holy and Godlike enterprise to its final consummation and triumph. For triumph it must, if God designs good to our country, and we, as a nation, have not so greatly sinned, by enslaving our fellow-men, as to draw down upon us his wrath to the uttermost. * * *

"My heart will be with you. My ardent prayer will be, that the Convention will be guided by *wisdom*, even by that wisdom which God shall give; and that all the members of the Convention may act from the purest patriotism, even from that love of country which will seek to purify it from all iniquity, and especially from the atrocious sin of slavery, that abomination of all abominations; and that our country may become as distinguished among the nations, for justice and mercy, as she is and has been for privileges and blessings; and that the foul blots on her escutcheon may soon be wiped away."

Extract from John Gilmore's Letter.

OHIO COUNTY, VA., March 21, 1845.

"Though as yet, few names gild our Liberty banner, we rejoice in the reflection that the seeds of Liberty are fast sowing—seeds which no burning suns can scorch, or bleak winters kill; and which, ere long, like the vine brought from Egypt, will fill the vallies and shade the mountains. And as every rill that glides down the mountain helps to swell the ocean tide, so may our few names contribute to fill and shake the nation's heart, until conquest is gained, victory won."

Letters were also received from LEWIS TAPPAN, New York; C. D. CLEVELAND, Philadelphia; F. D. PARISH, Sandusky; SAMUEL M. POND, Bucksport, Me.; H. B. STANTON, Boston; and others, all expressing great interest in the Convention, and anxiety for its wise and harmonious action. It is not necessary, however, to give further extracts, which would merely reiterate the sentiments of others already given. We are gratified in believing that the hopes and expectations of all those interested in the Convention, will be as fully satisfied by its united, decided, and wise action, as were the wishes of those in attendance by the number and spirit of those who met them.





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